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MUDRÂRÂKSHASA

BY

VIS'ÂKHADATTA,

WITH THE COMMENTARY OF ḌHUṆḌHIRÂJA.

EDITED

With Critical and Explanatory Notes

BY

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PREFACE

TO

THE FIFTH EDITION.

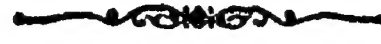


In this edition, the text has been materially revised, especially as the edition of the play by Prof. Hillebrandt has been consulted throughout, and all the new readings found therein have been given in the footnotes, marked as H. In several places, the reading in the text of the last edition has been abandoned in favour of another reading decidedly better. Thus for instance on p. 54, भास्करदत्त takes the place of पृथु, as the former is more in conformity with ईश्वरदत्त and विशाखदत्त. So also on p. 91, the speech of Chandanadâsa which was prose in form in all the previous editions, has been here put in a metrical form. (See Verse 21 beginning with चाणक्किम्म अकरुणे etc.). On p. 94, the second speech of Chandanadâsa has been retained in the same form as before, but its conjectural metrical form has been given in the footnote. The same is the case with p. 297, where also the speech of Chandanadâsa beginning with अम्हारिसाणं वि etc. though retained in the text, in the prose form, has its conjectural metrical form given in the footnote. On p. 215, the verse एक्कगुणा तिथी etc. put in the mouth of Kshapaṇaka is evidently defective from the metrical point of view, but the new reading given in the footnote *i. e.* the insertion of the word भोदि after the words एक्कगुणा and चउग्गुणे, makes it alright. These illustrations are enough to give the reader an idea of the textual alterations made in the edition. The additions and alterations in the notes, very few indeed, have been indicated by rectangular brackets [ ].

V. S. G.

CRITICAL NOTICE.

(FIRST EDITION.)



THE present edition of the Mudrârâkshasa is based upon nine different copies, eight of which are manuscript copies, and one printed. These seem to fall roughly into two groups, the one containing those denoted by the letters A., P., M., R., and K., and the other those denoted by the letters B., E., N., G. The text yielded by the former group is that which has been generally followed in this edition, and that is the text which appears to have been the one received as the best by the commentator Ḍhuṇḍhirâja. Ḍhuṇḍhirâja, however, himself notices various readings in some places (*vide e. g.*, pp. 67-68), and as his commentary was written early in the beginning of the last century, his authority is, of course, by no means conclusive on such questions. The text followed in this edition, therefore, has not been accepted primarily on his authority, but as being the text which was worthy of acceptance upon other grounds also. It will be noticed, from the account of the various MSS. which is given in the sequel that that text is based upon MSS., one of which comes from Banâres, another from Poona, another from Kolhâpur and the remaining two from Southern India. These South Indian MSS., it may be remarked in passing, always deserve looking into, and often yield very good readings.

It is necessary, however, in this place to draw attention to one circumstance which touches all the MSS. which have been used for this edition. None of them agrees completely with the Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa, and the Das'arûpa, in the passages which those two works quote from the Mudrârâkshasa. Thus comparing the quotation in the Das'arûpa, at p. 120, with the same passage as read by our MSS., (see p. 36 below), we find very considerable divergences between the former and every one of the copies we have used. It is not necessary to set them out here in full, but the reader can easily make the comparison for himself. The Das'arûpa contains only one actual quotation from the Mudrârâ-

kshasa, the Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa contains two.* The first is the stanza at p. 98 *infra*, which runs as follows in the very useful edition of the Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa recently published by Mr. A. Borooah. (See p. 165). It is, however, to be noted that this is not here mentioned as being taken from the Mudrârâkshasa, nor is the second passage referred to further on.

उपरि घनं घनपटलं दूरे दयिता किमेतदापतितम् ।
हिमवति दिव्यौषधयः कोपाविष्टः फणी शिरसि ॥

The second is the second stanza at p. 167 *infra* which is quoted at p. 292 of the Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa. It is not necessary to do more than indicate the various readings which our MSS. do not contain, viz., जृम्भणैः for जृम्भितैः and अतिताम्रा for अभिताम्रा. Now it is remarkable, that in all the cases here noted, the readings which occur in the Das'arûpa and the Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa should not be found in any one of our MSS. And the circumstance is not only a remarkable one, it is calculated to create an uneasy suspicion in one's mind that we have not before us materials quite satisfactory for settling our text. On the other hand, however, we have to remember, that some of the discrepancies which we meet with may be due merely to mistakes or defects in the copies of the Das'arûpa and Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa themselves.† It is also to be borne in mind, that these discrepancies are of no great moment in themselves, as they do not affect the meaning, although, of course, in one sense every variation, however unimportant in itself, is of importance upon the question—what was the text as it left the hands of the author. It may be further pointed out, that even as regards other works, which are quoted in the Das'arûpa and Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa, we meet occasionally with various readings in the passages quoted, of which we find no trace in many of the manuscripts available to us. A few references to such passages are given in the note.‡

* See Introduction *infra* on these passages. † We have also to take account of the fact that, in all probability, some at least of these quotations were not verified before they were written down by the authors of the Das'arûpa and the Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa, but were merely written down from memory. See our remarks on this subject below (P. 28) and also the next note. ‡ Cf. Das'akumâracharita, p. 1, with Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa, p.114; Mâlatîmâdhava, pp.166, 307, 365, with Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa pp. 115,311,340 respectively, and pp. 49,

We now proceed to enumerate the copies of the Mudrârâkshasa which have been used for this edition. The first is that marked A. it is complete, and includes the text and the commentary of Dhuṇḍhirâja here published. It is throughly legible and correct. It belongs to Mr. Âpâ Shâstrî Khâdilkar, and was very kindly lent to me by that venerable scholar. From the concluding sentences, it appears that the text and commentary were originally copied in the Vis'ves'varanagarî, or Banâres in the S'aka year 1653, in the month of Âs'vin, by उपाध्यायभुकदेव. It is the copy which generally speaking, has been exclusively relied upon for the text of the commentary, and its text of the play itself is that which the commentator had before him, and which has also been mainly adopted in this edition.* There is one circumstance which deserves to be noted here in connection with this MS. It consists of two distinct parts, apparently copied by two different hands. The first of these two parts goes down to नागयूथेश्वराणाम् । द्र (*sic.*)., and then there is a considerable space left blank on that page and on the next page of the same leaf. The words quoted will be found at p. 168 *infra*. The second part of the MS. does not start from that point. It begins with अपि च आस्वादितद्विरदशोणितशोणशोभामिति-पूर्वोक्तं पठति, and then goes on to the end of the work. The words last quoted will be found at p. 99 *infra*. The two fragments of the play now decribed are, it may be added, written on paper of different sizes, and the date above given,—viz. S'aka 1653,—is, of course, found at the end of the second fragment. (See further, p. 11 *infra*).

The second MS. used for the purposes of this edition is that marked P. This MS. forms part of a volume bound in the European style, and containing two plays in MS., the Mudrârâkshasa and the Mâlatîmâdhava. This volume, I am informed, is one of a series of volumes containing manuscript copies of various works made several years ago at Jejurî, and now in the possession of Mr. Âpârâo Vaidya of Poona. It was procured for me by my friend

165, with Das'arûpa, pp. 95, 149 respectively. Note that the passage cited from the Mâlatîmâdhava at p. 113 of the Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa is again cited at p. 292 with a variation in one word, and that the same passage is cited at Das'arûpa, p. 149, with a variation in another word.

* I regret that owing to inadvertence the readings of this group of MSS. have sometimes got into the foot-notes instead of being taken as the text.

Râo Bahâdur Gajânan Krishṇa Bhâṭavaḍekar, now in the service of the Baroda State. The MS. is by no means accurately, though it is most clearly and legibly, written. There are sundry mistakes to be met with from time to time, but they are nearly always easy of correction. The MS., for instance, often writes इ for थि. The Sanskrit equivalent of the Prâkṛit passages is given in considerable portions of the play, but not throughout, and it follows the Prâkṛit passages themselves in the middle of the text. In the latter portion of the play, viz. from the fifth Act onwards, the Prâkṛit mostly remains without the Sanskrit translation. The original from which the copy was made, in all probability, contained both the text and commentary, as before the final stanza, and after the words तथापि इदमस्तु, we read इत्थमत्रातिगम्भीर-शुभोदर्कचाणक्यनयसंविधानेन चन्द्रगुप्तसाचिव्यपदलाभपरितुष्टो महामात्यो राक्षस इत्याशास्ते ॥ भरतवाक्यम् ॥ and then follows वाराहीम् and so forth, as in our text. The words set out here are not to be found in our copies of the commentary. They may, perhaps, belong, and probably do belong, to some other commentator than Dhuṇḍhirâja; but they are plainly no part of Vis'âkhadatta's text, and they must very likely have got into the text in the copy now under description from the copy from which it was prepared. The MS. bears no date, but is comparatively very modern-looking, probably not even so much as fifty years old. It states at the end the ग्रन्थसंख्या as 1350, which is, no doubt, a note of the copyist made for calculating his own remuneration. (See further, p. 11 *infra.*).

The next copy to be mentioned is a MS. written on palmyra leaves which is denoted by the letter M. It was a MS. procured for me by my friend, Mr. V. N. Narasimiengar of Bangalore, who has always been most useful both to Professor Bhâṇḍârkar and myself, in procuring for us copies of Sanskrit texts from Southern India. This MS. and the next are both written in the Telugu characters, which I am unable to read, and I had therefore to resort to the services of readers to help me in the matter. The MS. appears to be, on the whole, very correctly written. It contains no double letters, apparently such letters being denoted by the corresponding single letters with a dot over the previous letter in many cases. (Cf. Burnell's Indian Palæography, p. 13; Paṇḍit's Mâlavikâgnimitra, pp., IX., X.). The confusion of थ and घ seems

to be a pretty common phenomenon in these southern MSS., and in the two I have used there seems to have been some confusion also between क and श. The MS. bears no date.

The next MS. consulted is the one marked R. It was kindly sent to me from the India Office Library through Dr. F. Kielhorn by Dr. R. Rost, when he heard that I was preparing this edition for the Bombay Sanskrit Series. The same remarks apply to this MS. as to the last one here described. There is also, apparently, some confusion in this MS. in the last scene, where the speeches are in some disorder. As a general rule, these southern MSS. are always worthy of careful attention, and the MSS. I have used for this edition belong to the same group as the copy from which the commentator took his text. I cannot say how old R and M are.

The next MS. is one marked K. It comes from the collection of MSS. belonging to the Government of Bombay and deposited in Elphinstone College. This MS., however, is only a copy recently made for Government, and contains the text only down to the end of the first Act. The rest of the MS. contains a copy merely of the commentary of Ḍhuṇḍhirâja.

So much for the group of MSS. on which the text adopted in this edition is mainly based. The next group contains one printed copy, B., namely, the edition of this play published at Calcutta with a commentary, by Professor Târânâth Tarkavâchaspati. That edition has been assumed to be a fair representative of the Bengal text of our play. It contains now and then some various readings, but in sundry places the text of the play as there given, is very unsatisfactory. Two other editions have been printed at Calcutta, one was published many years ago without either various readings or exegetical notes, and another with some various readings and the commentary of Ḍhuṇḍhirâja. This last, however, was never completed, as far as I have been able to ascertain, and the portion printed goes down to a little beyond the middle of the second Act. I have not deemed it necessary to compare the readings of those editions with the text here adopted, save to a very small extent indeed.

The next copy in this group is the one marked E. It belongs to the collection of MSS. deposited in the Library of Deccan College, Poona. It is a very indifferently written MS. It contains numerous mistakes, as may be seen even on an examination of the readings from it, which are contained in our foot-notes. It is bound up in one volume with a MS. of the Uttararâmacharita. On the last page of the Mudrârâkshasa we read संवत १७०४ समये(?)

नामकुअरसुदी सप्तमी ॥ संपूर्ण;—which would make the date of the MS. to be 1648 A. C., if the Vikrama era is to be understood to be the era intended. The MS., it is believed, comes from Guzerâth.

The next copy is N. This is a MS. belonging to a Shâstrî o Nâgpur, in the Central Provinces. I was not able to see it myself, but my very obliging friend, Mr. Hari Mâdhava Paṇḍit, was so kind as to undertake the arduous work of collating the MS. for me, and it was thus I obtained the various readings which are mentioned in the foot-notes. The MS. bears no date on the face of it, but Mr. Paṇḍit thinks that it may be about a hundred years old. Mr. Paṇḍit also compared another MS. which belonged to the Library of the Râjâ of Nâgpur. But after he had compared the first few pages, he found that MS. to be so hopelessly incorrect that he had to abandon the work of collation as a thing which could not lead to any useful result. Wherever any readings of both these MSS. are given, they are distinguished thus; the Shâstrî's MS. is called N. S., and the Râjâ's N. R., Mr. Paṇḍit informs me that both these MSS. are believed to have been copied at Benâres.

The last MS. to be mentioned is the one described in the foot-notes as G. It is a MS. coming from the Province of Guzerâth and was lent me by Râo Bahâdur Shankar Pâṇḍurang Paṇḍit to whom it belongs. It is unfortunately incomplete, pages being wanting both at the beginning and at the end, and it is also very incorrectly written. It extends from Siddhârthaka's speech सहर्षम् &c, in the first Act at P. 88 to Châṇakya's speech in the last Act at p. 315, भद्र &c. The MS. is, however, pretty old—its age being between two and three hundred years.

It will be perceived from the above description of the materials used for this edition, tlfat those materials are drawn from nearly all the different Provinces of India. We have Bengal, Southern India, the Central Provinecs, Guzerâth, Mahârâshṭra, and Benâres all represented in the collection of copies which have been consulted for this edition. Since the Text was sent to the Press, I have had a MS. lent me by my friend, Mr. Kâshinâth Pâṇḍurang Parab, which seems to be traceable to Tryambakes'var, near Nâsik. It is a copy recently made. The date सीमाधाविमिते गतेऽब्दनिकरक्षज्यारुहस्थायिनो भैमीनायकवत्सरे शुचिदले मासो नभस्यस्य च (?) is probably that of the original MS. from which this was copied. It has not been collated throughout for the purposes of the present edition, but on a comparison of a sufficient number of pages and passages, it appears to agree very nearly with our MS. P. And it is worthy of

note that the two agree even in that interpolation from the commentary which has been noticed in the description of P. I have also recently examined another MS., one in that collection of volumes which has been referred to by Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar in his Mâlatîmâdhava (Preface, p. ii.), that bears no date (see Mâlatîmâdhava, l. c.), and agrees also generally with our MS. P., including the interpolation referred to. The last MS. to be named here is one belonging to Alvar,* which I have not been able to examine myself. Prof. Peterson, however, has been good enough to compare about thirty pages of my text with that MS., and he tells me that he did not find any variants worthy of note, while he found the MS. agreeing generally with our MS. A. Dr. Bühler was kind enough to draw my attention to the MS. of the play existing in the Jesalmîr Bhâṇḍâr. But at the date of writing this notice, I have not been able to obtain either the copy itself or any collations from it.

In order to avoid the appearance of too many figures above the lines of the text, the various readings on each line have been generally grouped together under one figure in the foot-notes, and as they are printed in due order, it is hoped that there will not be much difficulty in assigning each variant to its proper original in the text. A semi-colon generally separates variants not connected with one another. A° before a letter indicates that the foregoing portion of the word has been omitted to save space. Variants even when purely the result of error, are mentioned in the foot-notes, but generally only in those cases where there were other real variants appearing in other copies; so that the erroneous variant would show which of the two genuine variants was intended to be written.

(THIRD EDITION.)

This edition is merely a reprint of the first edition. Changes in orthography, punctuation and type have, however, been made according to the system followed up in the Nirṇaya-sagara publications.

K. P. P.

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* But see P. 35 *infra*. I have collated considerable portions of the Commentary.

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INTRODUCTION.

(FIRST EDITION.)

The Mudrârâkshasa is, in sundry respects, a very unique work in Sanskrit literature. Its plot is not a pure invention, but on the other hand, it is not derived from the usual store-house of legends on which Sanskrit authors have generally drawn for their materials. It has no female among its prominent *dramatis personœ*, and the business of the play, accordingly, is diplomacy and politics to the entire exclusion of love. There is, in truth, but one female character, with one little child, introduced into the play, and these are Chandanadâsa's wife and son, who come in at the beginning of the last Act. But even their appearance introduces no passages suggestive of tenderness or the purely domestic virtues, but only of sacrifice—a stern sense of duty. The style is appropriate to the nature of the subject; it does not lay much claim to sweetness or beauty, but is always business-like and often vigorous. In the delineation of character, likewise, the virtues and vices which are depicted are more those of the sterner sort, not so much those connected with the tender affections. Thus, to take first the most prominent character in the play, Châṇakya is represented as a clear-headed, self-confident, intriguing, hard politician, with the ultimate end of his ambition thoroughly well-determined, and directing all his clear-headedness and intrigue to the accomplishment of that end. Râkshasa, on the other hand, is represented as a brave soldier, but a blundering and somewhat soft-natured politician,* whose faithfulness to his original masters prompts him to wreak vengeance for their destruction on Chandragupta and Châṇakya who were their destroyers, but who has ultimately to abandon the self-imposed task, being foiled by the arts of his adversary. The proximate motive of the abandonment, however, is the duty of repaying favours received by him† when he was engaged in his attempts at vengeance as above stated. Thus the two rivals are both placed before us, so to say, almost exclusively in their official chara-

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* Cf. pp. 75, 76 with pp. 119-21; pp. 85-6, 103 with pp. 123 (where the snakes are mentioned, though Virâdhagupta is brought in for his subhâshita, p.121),188, 204-5, 243-6; pp. 102-3 with pp. 141, 260; and see Act VI. *passim.* † p. 292 *et seq*

cters. The nearest we get to any other aspect of their character is in the long soliloquy of Râkshasa in the sixth Act—after the great aim of his life had been finally abandoned in despair. Take, again, the other pair of rivals, who are brought into sharp contrast before us. Chandragupta is represented as a sovereign of dignity and strength of character, coupled with a proper respect for the minister, whose ability and diplomatic skill he had seen good reason to trust. In Malayaketu, on the other hand, we find a prince whose confidence and distrust are alike misplaced, who is thoughtless, suspicious, wanting in dignity, and almost child-like, not to say childish.* In the minor characters, we see tke principle of faithfulness to one's lord, adhered to through good report and evil report-*per fas et per nefas.* In the more prominent ones, the same principle still prevails, and the course of conduct to which it leads is certainly quite Machiavellian. And all this is brought out in a plot put together with singular skill, and inferior in that respect only to the plot of the Mṛichchhakaṭika, among Sanskrit dramas.

The name of the author of the play is Vis'âkhadatta, or as some of our copies read it, Vis'âkhadeva. And all the really trustworthy information we have about him is that contained in the Introduction to this drama, which is the only one of his productions that is at present known. We learn from that Introduction that Vis'âkhadatta was the son of Pṛithu and grandson of Vaṭes'varadatta—a Sâmanta or subordinate chief. But I have failed in my endeavours to discover anything touching either Pṛithu or Vaṭes'vara. Professor Wilson, indeed, put forward a suggestion that Pṛithu might be identical with the "Chouhan chief of Ajmir, Pṛithu Raj."† But, as he has himself pointed out, the name Vaṭes'varadatta presents a difficulty in the way of this identification.‡ And I own that it seems to me quite impossible to accept an identification for which there is no positive reason whatever except the similarity of name, while against it there is the circumstance noted above, and also this, *quantum valeat,* that while our Pṛithu is specially designated as "bearing the title Mahârâj," the "Pṛithu of Ajmir," is generally known as Pṛithurâi or Pṛithurâj only. Professor Wil-

* Cf. pp. 150, 152, 165, 170, 184, 309, with pp. 197, 200, 209, 226-8, and generally Act III., with act V. † Hindu Theatre, Vol. II., P. 128. ‡ Ibid note, and p. 154 note.

son also suggests that our author was probably not a native of Southern India,* and he bases this suggestion on the simile which occurs at p. 129 *infra*, viz. pearls spotless like snow.† A similar idea occurred to me, with reference to the last stanza of our play on noticing in General Cunningham's Reports on the Archæological Survey of India how frequently temples and remains connected with the Varâha Avatâra are to be met with in Northern India.‡ But both circumstances appear to me to be capable of such obvious explanations, on other hypotheses, that even this little bit of inferentially derived knowledge regarding Vis'âkhadatta must be treated as still in need of corroboration.

Regarding the date of the work, our information hitherto has been, I am afraid, almost equally scanty and equally unsatisfactory. Professor Wilson, relying upon two passages in the drama, deducted the conclusion, that it was composed in the 11th or 12th century of the Christian era, "when the Pathan princes were pressing upon the Hindu sovereignties."§ One of these passages is that in which reference is made to the Mlechchhas, a name which Professor Wilson understands to refer to the Muhammadans.¶ The second passage is the stanza at the beginning of the fifth Act, on which Professor Wilson observes as follows:—"This metaphorical style is not natural to the compositions of the period to which the drama belongs; the Hindus were, perhaps, beginning to borrow it from their neighbours." ‖ The opinion thus propounded by Professor Wilson has, as usual in such cases, been not only accepted by subsequent inquirers, but has itself been made the basis, to a greater or less extent, of further speculation. Thus, in the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, a change in the course of the river S'oṇa being the subject of enquiry, it is stated to have occurred "shortly before or at the period of the great Muhammadan invasions, when the author of the Mudrârâkshasa flourished."$ Now this might have been a thoroughly legitimate

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* Ibid, p. 182, note. † Our text has not kept this reading, which occurs only in two of our eight MSS. ‡ See the references given in our note on the passage, but see, too, *inter alia* Burgess's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. I., pp. 7, 22, 26; Vol. IV., p. 15; Vol. V., pp. 30-52. and see p. 21. *infra*. § Hindu Theatre, II, p. 251, note. ¶ Ibid, p. 128. ‖ Ibid, p. 218.
$ See Cunningham's Arch. Surv., Vol. VIII., p. 22, and Journal As. Soc. of Beng., Vol. XIV., p. 140; Cf. also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II., p. 145, and Vol. VI., p. 114, note of Schwanbeck.

conclusion, if the dates of the Mudrârâkshasa and of the "great Muhammadan invasions" had been satisfactorily proved to synchronise. But, as we shall presently proceed to show, such is by no means the case. And, therefore, one feels a certain amount of regret that owing to this expression of opinion by Professor Wilson—owing to this which is a very common form of manifestation of that scientific manliness and straightforwardness on the part of scholars, of which Professor Max Müller desires a wider extension,*—our Archæological Surveyor felt himself relieved from the necessity of making an independent investigation of the date at which the change in the course of the S'oṇa took place. If such an independent investigation had been made, we might have got results that would either have necessitated a reconsideration of the date suggested for the Mudrârâkshasa, or would have corroborated that date by testimony which would have sufficed to countervail the effect of the objections that may now be certainly urged against it with some force.

For, first, what is the ground for assuming the Mlechchhas to mean the Mussulmans? It cannot be contended for an instant that the name is specifically confined to the Mussulmans at every period of Sanskrit literature.† And, therefore, in deciding whether it is applied to them in any particular case, we must be guided by collateral circumstances. I can see no such collateral circumstances here, and Professor Wilson and Mr. Beglar are both alike silent about any such circumstances. On the other hand, Malayaketu himself is called a Mlechchha.‡ Neither his name, nor that of his uncle Vairochaka, nor that of his father Parvataka—which, be it remembered, is sometimes paraphrased by S'ailes'vara or Parvates'vara—shows any mark of Muhammadan origin.§

* India: What it can teach us, p. 283. I quite agree with Professor Max Müller that the "manliness" he wishes for is in many cases desirable. All I wish to suggest is, that that virtue has a leaning to the side of vice, which requires to be guarded against; and compare on this Mr. Furgusson's remarks at J. R. A. S., (N. S.), Vol. VI., p. 273. † See *inter alia* Cunningham's Arch. Surv., Vol. II., p. 70. Borooah's English-Sanskrit Dictionary, Vol. III., pp. 41, 53, 82 (Introd.) and particularly Elphinstone's India, by Cowell, p. 289, with which compare Kathâsaritsâgara, Taranga XIX., St. 108. See, too, Max Müller, India: What it can teaches us,p. 282, and *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI., p. 274; also a note towards the end of this Introduction. ‡ *Vide* p. 274 *infra*.
§ See pp. 107, 134, 255, 273 *infra*, and cf. *inter alia*, J. A. S. B. Vol. 43, p. 104, and J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., p. 368.

Nor is the reference to the offering of funeral libations* to the deceased father calculated to lull all suspicion about the correctness of the theory, which identifies the Mlechchhas of the Mudrârâkshasa with the Mussulmans. Of course, in these remarks, I entirely lay out of consideration a possible view, that although the word Mlechchha in the earlier portion of the play does not stand for the Mussulmans, it does signify the Mussulmans in the last stanza of the play. † That would be a theory itself standing in need of confirmation and verification; and without such confirmation or verification, it is one which has really no fair claim to acceptance. Therefore it seems to me manifest, that the first link in Professor Wilson's chain of reasoning is an excessively weak one. But let us concede, for the sake of argument, that that link is not a weak one; that, in other words, the Mlechchhas alluded to in the Mudrârâkshasa—or rather in its last stanza—are identical with the Mussulmans. How does that justify the inference that the Mudrârâkshasa belongs to the 11th or 12th century of the Christian era? The expression म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना, would to my mind, indicate not so much a permanent establishment of sovereignty or any continuous oppression, as a more or less constant series of annoyances and harassments; and the

* P. 192: It hardly needs saying that Mlechchha is equivalent to the Greek "Barbarian," meaning literally, "one who speaks barbarously." It may, of course, be objected to the argument based on the names Malayaketu and so forth, that the name Meghanâda, or Meghâksha, or Meghâkhya, (as to which see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II., p. 145), does not betray a Persian origin, although it is expressly stated to be the name of a Pârasîka king. This is quite true, and it may be, that though Muhammadans are intended to be denoted by the names Malayaketu, &c., the names used are Sanskritised in order to be made appropriate to a Sanskrit drama. This may be, but the two cases are distinct in that, firstly, in the one case we know specifically from other evidence who the Pârasîkas are, while we do not similarly know who are referred to by the Mlechchhas; secondly, Mlechchha is a connotative name, while Pârasîka is not; and, thirdly, no further inference is sought to be based here on the identification of Pârasîkas and Persians, while the identification of Mlechchhas and Mussulmans is made by Professor Wilson and others the basis of a whole chronological superstructure. See further on this subject Kern's Bṛihatsamhitâ, Preface, p. 32, note, with which cf. Fergusson's Indian Architecture, p. 28.

† In the Kîrtikaumudî (*Circa* 1250 A. C.) the Mlechchhas mentioned at II. 58 are stated by the learned editor, Professor Kâthavate, to be the Muhammadans (See Notes, p. 34) and from the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV., p. 364, we find that in Târânâth's history of Buddhism the name Mlechchhas is understood to refer to the Muhammadans. See further on this subject J. A. S. B., Vol. IX., p. 849.

reference to the earth as having taken refuge from such annoyances and harassments with the power and strength of Vishṇu in the guise of the then reigning prince, would seem rather to point to some warlike proceedings, in which the Hindus appeared to greater advantage than in the invasions of Muhammad of Ghazni, and the later Muhammadan invaders of India. On such previous proceedings history may, perhaps, be said to give forth at present a somewhat uncertain sound, but still it is assuredly not altogether silent. For a whole century, beginning from 711 A. C. and coming down to 812 A. C., there are traces of such annoyances as we have spoken of above, and the late Colonel Meadows Taylor says,* that "early Muhammadan enterprises against the Hindus, with the exception of that of Kassim (*Circa* 711 A. C.) were unsuccessful, and that they were found more united and more powerful and warlike than the people of the West over whom the Muhammadans had triumphed." Or turning to an original Muhammadan history, mentioned and epitomised in Sir Henry Elliott's elaborate work,† we read that "in the days of Tamîm, the Mussulmans retired from several parts of India, and left some of their positions, nor have they up to the present time advanced as far as in days gone by." The force of this statement, on the point now under consideration, will be understood by remembering that the Tamîm referred to in it was the successor of a Mussulman governor of Sindh, named Junaid, who is stated, in the same historical chronicle, to have "sent his officers," among other places, to Barus, which is understood to mean Broach; to have "sent a force against Uzain" or (Ujjayinî) and "against the country of Mâliba" (said to be Malva or Malabar); and to have "conquered all Bailmân and Jurz," which last is identified with Guzarâth.‡ Now Junaid's achievements belong to about the second quarter of the eighth century after Christ, and therefore, it seems to me at least as tenable a position as Professor Wilson's to hold, that the allusion in the Mudrârâkshasa to the

* See the Student's Manual of the History of India, p. 77. Compare Elphinstone's India, by Cowell, p. 312, and notes there. † See Elliott's History of India as told by its own Historians, by Professor Dowson, Vol. I., pp. 125-6, and Cf. Burgess's Arch. Sury. Report, Vol. II. p. 71, and Fergusson's Indian Architecture, pp. 24, 729. See also Dowson's Elliott, Vol. I., pp. 116, 390, and pp. 414 *et seq.* ‡ But see Yule's Cathay, Vol. I., p. clxxxvi. Cf. generally J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIV. pp. 30-2; J. A. S. B., Vol. VI. p. 71, Vol. X. p. 189, Vol. XXX. p. 1138, and Fergusson's Indian Architecture, p. 729.

preservation of India against the harassments of the Mlechchha Mussulmans points to its composition in that century.

It is not necessary to examine at any length the other argument which is suggested by Professor Wilson. Our note on the passage in question* (see P. 220 *infra*) will afford ample ground for considering that argument as being very far from satisfactory. And, therefore, we must now proceed to inquire whether there are any other materials available for forming an opinion on the question of the age when our author flourished. But before we do so, it is desirable to consider another point on which also Professor Wilson bases a chronological inference, though without deducing a date more definite than "one subsequent to the disappearance of the Bauddhas in India."† That point is that the antiquity of the play cannot be very great in consequence of its reference to the Jaina Kshapaṇaka Jîvasiddhi. Professor Wilson's first argument in support of this point is based merely on the "introduction of the Jainas" into the play which, by itself, he considers to be a mark of modernness.‡ One can only understand this argument when one remembers that Professor Wilson's estimate of the age of the Jaina system was a very low one.§ But in view of the facts and arguments bearing on this topic that are now available,¶ it seems to me impossible to accept Professor Wilson's premises, and the particular argument we are here dealing with must, therefore, fall to the ground. His second argument is based on what he considers to be the misapplication of the word Kshapaṇaka—a word which, Professor Wilson says, means not a Jaina, but a Bauddha only. Its application in the play to one who is plainly intended to be taken as a Jaina, not a Bauddha,‖ involves, Professor Wilson thinks, a confusion of terms "which is characteristic of a period

* Cf. also Hindu Theatre, Vol. I., p. 88, and Das'akumâracharita, p. 164 (Calc. ed.) This work is attributed to the 6th century. See India: What it can teach us, p. 314; *Indian Antiquary*. Vol. III., p. 82; and Burnell's Aindra Grammer, p, 73.

† Hindu Theatre, Vol. II., p. 159, note. This is a point on which something will have to be said in later portion of this Introduction.

‡ Hindu Theatre, Vol. II., p. 215.

§ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II., p. 193; Vol. VI., p. 15. Barth, Religions of India, p. 150.

¶ See our Anugîtâ in the Sacred Books of the East, p. 225, and Barth, Religions of India, p, 151; J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 84; Burgess's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. V., p. 43.

‖ M. Barth is wrong in supposing him to be meant for a "Buddhistic character," p. 134.

subsequent to the disappearance of the Bauddhas in India." Now, in the first place, I do not know on what authority the word Kshapaṇaka is limited to the narrow meaning stated by Professor Wilson. In the Panchatantra, which may be supposed to be earlier than the "period" to which Professor Wilson refers, the name is certainly applied to the Jainas.* And so is it in Govindânanda's commentary on the S'ârîraka Bhâshya, and in the Prabodhachandrodaya,† which though, perhaps, belonging to somewhere about that "period,"‡ still very clearly distinguish the Bauddhas from the Jainas. I confess I have a suspicion that Professor Wilson was himself probably confounding Kshapaṇaka and S'ramaṇaka. This latter word is, undoubtedly, employed very frequently to signify the Bauddhas. Thus, in the Mṛichchhakaṭika, the ascetic who is there certainly meant to be taken as a Bauddha is called either S'ramaṇaka or Bhikshu§ and never, be it added in passing, Kshapaṇaka. But although the word S'ramaṇaka is most usually employed to signify Buddhists, even that word is not strictly con-

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* See Tantra V., and Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II., p. 194; also Wilson's Essays, Vol. II., pp. 20, (where Professor Wilson traces a similar confusion in the Panchatantra) 51, 76. The truth seems to be that the two sects are too much interlaced one with another for any such conclusion being based on these circumstances. In addition to what is said in the text, we have to remember, that S'râvaka, for instance, which Professor Wilson takes as referring to Jainas only (see Hindu Theatre, pp. 215-21), is also applied to Bauddhas. See *inter alia* Beal's Fa-Hian, pp. 9-47, Cunningham's Bharhut Stûpa, p. 110. Other similar words, besides Arhat and Jina, mentioned in the text, are Thera and Bhadanta (or, in its Prâkrit forms Bhayanta or Bhante), which occur frequently in the Inscriptions on the Amarâvatî Stûpa and in our Western India Cave Inscriptions. Cf. on all this J. R. A. S. Vol. XVI. p. 361; Vol. XVII., p. 117 (N. S.); Vol. II., p. 140; Burgess's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. IV., pp 92, 112; Beal's Fa-Hian, p. 5; Cave Temple Inscriptions by Dr. Burgess and Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, pp. 7, 11, 37, 76, and many other places; Burgess's Amrâvatî Stûpa, pp. 41, 54. See also Bṛihatsamhitâ, ch. LI., st. 20-21, with which cf. Burnell's S. Indian Paleography, pp. 12 (*n*), 47 (n), Bhârhut Stûpa, p. 83; Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society (1845) p. 24, (1847) p. 19, (1856-8) p. 247; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI., p. 29. Roth's Hemachandra, p. 58. See S'ankara Bhâshya (Bib., Ind. ed.), p. 591 and p. 497. Harshacharita, p. 16; Ânandagiri's S'ankaravijaya, p. 153 *et seq.*, Aufrecht's Halâyudha. p. 38. (The entry in the Index is erroneous). Hindu Theatre Vol. I., p. 56, and Das'akumâracharita with commentary (ed. by Messrs. Godbole and Parab), p. 189. Ditto (Bomb. Class.) p. 54 and note thereon.

† pp. 55-8

‡ See as to this Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. IX., p. 108. and also cf J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. III., p. 312.

§ See pp. 93, 238-9. and Hindu Theatre, Vol. I., p. 56.

fined to this sense.* Thus in the Kadamba copperplates deciphered by me some years ago, it is unmistakably applied to Jaina ascetics.† But further, assuming the "confusion" alleged by Professor Wilson to be proved, I still do not know from what materials we can draw the inference that that "confusion" is characteristic of the period referred to by him. Other words, which have undoubtedly been specifically appropriated by Jainism, may be found used in Buddhistic works—Arhat, ‡ for instance, or Jina. § And the doctrines of the Jainas and Buddhists are in so many respects identical that in the eyes of Brâhmaṇas, the "confusion" may well have taken place, even when both the heretical sects were living side by side in the country.¶ The truth is, that there is nothing in this "confusion," even if it was a proved fact, from which any such chronological inference could be drawn as has been drawn by professor Wilson. The position of the Jaina Jîvasiddhi in our play, however, is to be noticed as indicating the tolerant spirit of the times. Although as belonging to a heretical sect, the sight of him is supposed to be inauspicious,|| he is still admitted into the confidence of ministers of State. Châṇakya, the Brâhmaṇa minister, introduces him to Râkshasa; $ and Râkshasa, also a Brâhmaṇa minister, becomes so close a friend of his, as to speak of his heart itself having been taken possession of by the enemy, when he finds that Jîvasiddhi is like the others, merely a tool of Châṇakya.** On the other hand, the questionable purposes for which Jîvasiddhi, in his character of Jaina ascetic, is actually employed, may find their parallels in the stories of Devasmitâ in the Kathâsaritsâgara and of Nitambavatî in the Das'akumâracharita,†† where Bauddha

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* See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX. p. 122; Vol. X., p. 143. See, too, Brihadâraṇyaka Upanishad, p. 796 and S'ankara's Bhâshya thereon, with which compare Beal's Fa-Hian, p. 5; J. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 230 *et seq.*, Vol. IX. (N. S.), p. 169; Dowson's Elliott, Vol. I., p. 506. † See J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 321. ‡ See J. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. IV., p. 310.

§ Nâgânanda, p. 1; Cf. Barth, Indian Religions, p. 142; Kielhorn's Report on Sanskrit MSS., p. 34. Fergusson's Architecture, p. 233. ¶ See Barth's Religions of India, p. 147. || P. 212. $ P. 71. ** P. 258. †† See Kathâsaritsâgara, Taranga XIII., st. 68 *et seq.* and Das'akumâracharita, p. 121, (Calc. ed.) These stories may, perhaps, be taken as indicating the same antagonism to these "heretical sects" which is shown in the superstition regarding the sight of them being inauspicious, &c. Cf. also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol.VII., p. 201; Beal's Fa-Hian, p. 169; Varâhamihira's Brihatsamhitâ ch. 78, st. 9, and Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 281 (*n.*)

female ascetics are represented as taking an active part in even more indefensible proceedings.

And now let us turn to the materials we have for forming an opinion on the age of our drama. First, then, under this head, we have to deal with the quotations from it which, as already pointed out, are to be found in the Das'arûpa and the Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa. The former work alludes to the Mudrârâkshasa by name in three different places,* in one of them setting out in full an extract from it for purposes of illustration, in another giving a general reference to certain of the characters in the play, and in the third —though the genuineness of this passage is not, apparently, above suspicion †—pointing to the Bṛihatkathâ as the source from which the main plot of the play is derived. The Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa does not mention the Mudrârâkshasa by name at all; but one of the passages which it has in common with that work must be taken to be a quotation from it, though the other need not be so regarded necessarily, as the quotation in the Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa is a Sanskrit stanza, while the original in the Mudrârâkshasa is a Prâkrit stanza, which, in its last line, differs from the other.‡ Still laying aside the passages upon which doubts may thus be raised, we have a clear residue of one passage in the Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa, and two in the Das'arûpa, which must be taken to be derived from the Mudrârâkshasa. The dates of these two works, therefore, afford us a fairly satisfactory *terminus ad quem* for the date of our play. Now those dates have been generally accepted, since the publication of Dr. Fitzedward Hall's Das'arûpa and Vâsavadattâ, to fall in about the 10th or 11th century of the Christian era, the Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa being attributed to king Bhoja himself, and the Das'arûpa being thought to be probably the work of an author who flourished in the time of Munja, the uncle of Bhoja.§ We have not succeeded, since Dr. Hall's suggestions were made, in gathering much further or other material for a decision of the point, and

* See pp. 59. 105, 120. † See Dr. Hall's Preface, p. 36; Cf. Vâsavadattâ, p. 55.
‡ See the references given at p. 4 *Supra.* § See the Das'arûpa Preface, pp. 2, 3, 4; and Vâsavadattâ Preface, pp. 8, 9, 11, 21, 50; and Cf. Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar's Preface to the Mâlatîmâdhava, P. X.; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI., p. 236; Vol. VI., p. 51; Vol. I., p. 251; Weber's Indian Literature, p. 201 note; Bühler's Vikramânkacharita Introd. p. 23; Eggeling's Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, pp. VI., 1, 2.

therefore, if we accept Dr. Hall's opinion as a basis, it seems to follow that the Mudrârâkshasa was probably composed at the latest about the century prior to the 11th century A. D. This argument, it must never be forgotten, only yields a *terminus ad quem* for the date of our play. And this terminus would fit in very well with the hypothetical conclusion which has been indicated above as derivable from the last stanza of the play.

On that last stanza there is another remark germane to this branch of our subject, which may now be made. One of our MSS. —the one marked E—reads अवन्तिवर्मा, instead of चन्द्रगुप्तः in the last line of that stanza. Another—that marked N—reads रन्तिवर्मा. It is not quite impossible that the difference between E and N is due only to miscopying, and that in both MSS. one name only was intended—whether that name be Rantivarmâ or Avantivarmâ. As to the former, Rantivarmâ, I am unable to find any trace of that name anywhere. But we find two kings, named Avantivarmâ, mentioned in the documents accessible to us. One king of that name is the famous Avantivarmâ of Kâs'mîr.* But that province is too far off from the provinces to which the two MSS. in question belong, and too little connected with them, to justify us in identifying the Avantivarmâ mentioned in one of them with this king of Kâs'mîr. We know, however, of another Avantivarmâ, who was the father of the Maukhari king Grahavarmâ, the husband of the sister of Harshavardhana of Kanoj.† He must have been a king of Western Magadha or Behar, and, if our author was an inhabitant of that part of the country, it is not impossible that this play was written by him in the reign of Avantivarmâ, and so his name came to be substituted for Chandragupta in the stanza referred to. If this identification is correct, as Avantivarmâ's date may probably be taken to be somewhere about the seventh century A. D., that would also be the date of Vis'âkhadatta. And as the Maukhari princes may possibly have joined their neigh-

*See Râjataranginî, Chap. V., and Bühler's Tour in Kâs'mîr, J. B. B. R. A. S. (Special No.), p. 74. † Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol, XV., p. 164. Vol. XVI., pp. 73-78; and see Harshacharita, p. 108. Another Avantivarmâ, apparently, is mentioned at J. A. S. B. Vol. XXX., p. 321, but nothing has been ascertained about his date, &c. A king Avanti is mentioned at Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, p. 123.

bours, the later Guptas, in their wars with the white Huns,* it is again not impossible that the Mlechchhas referred to in the last stanza of our play were these white Huns, whose inroads are supposed by General Cunningham to have occurrred in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. All this, however, is only possible at present; further light on the subject must be awaited, before we can come to any safe conclusion upon it.

There is one other line of inquiry which may be worth pursuing, as it may lead to some result bearing upon the age of the Mudrârâkshasa. The scene of the play is laid for the most part in the city of Pâṭaliputra, or Kusumpura, as it is also called.† Now it may be argued, I think, with some ground of reason, that the geography of our play must have been based not upon the state of things which existed in the time of Chandragupta, and which probably there were no materials for ascertaining at the date of the play, but upon the state of things which actually existed at the time when the play was itself composed. ‡ And more especially may this argument be accepted in the case of those indications of geographical facts which are yielded only in an incidental way by passages in the drama designed for an entirely different purpose. Now, if we put together these geographical indications, we find that the Pâṭaliputra, where the scene of the play is laid, was to the south of a river named the S'oṇa, § and that the king's palace in that city overlooked the River Ganges. ¶ I think we may also safely assume that this Pâṭaliputra was an existing city at the time of the composition of the play. This last proposition follows almost as a logical cônsequence, if we are right in the

* See Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. III., p. 135; also Harshacharita, p. 116; and Cf. Mr. Fergusson's S'aka Samvat and Gupta Eras, and J. A. S. B., Vol. IX., p. 849, about the white Huns and their invasions of India.

† Cf. as to these names, &c., Dr. Hall's Vâsavadattâ, Preface p. 35; Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. XIV., p. 1, *et seq*; Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XVII., p. 49; see also Beal's Fa-Hian, p. 70; Kern's Bṛihatsamhitâ, Preface pp. 37-40; J. R. A. S. (N. S.)., Vol VI., pp. 227-228; Burgess's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. V., p. 43. In some places, Kusumapura is distinguished from Pâṭaliputra, and is identified with the Modern Fulvari. But in our play they are treated as interchangeable names, see pp. 187, 196, 198, 203. ‡ Cf. Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Report Vol. VIII., p. 22. § see pp. 211-14; Patanjali in the Mahâbhâshya, mentions, Pâṭaliputra as being on the S'oṇa; see *Indian Antiquary* Vol. I., p. 301; Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. VIII., pp. 6, 11, 8; see too, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V., pp. 331-4. ¶ See p. 154 *infra*.

argument which has been above set forth touching the value of the geographical date in our play. Now we may, I think, take it to be historically demonstrated, that Pâṭaliputra is the Indian name of the city, which is familiar in the classical accounts of this country under the name of Palibothra,* which was visited by the Chinese traveller Fa-Hian (who travelled in India and Central Asia between the years 399 and 414 A. D.) as the capital of Magadha, and is described by the other famous Chinese traveller, Hiouen-Tsang, as being a ruined city, south of the Ganges the foundations of which still covered, in his time, an extent of 70 li, though it had then been long deserted. † Hiouen-Tsang's journey commenced about 629 A. D., and extended down to 646 A. D. Therefore, we have Pâṭaliputra still in existence till about the middle of the seventh century. But one century later we come to another Chinese account of India; and speaking of the year 756 A. D, that account gives us the following item of information:—"At the close of the year *Kan-yuen*"-this is said to be about 756 A. D.- "the bank of the river Ho-lung gave way, and disappeared."‡ The scholar who has translated this Chinese account tentatively suggests that Ho-lung may stand for the Ganges, and General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar more confidently maintain the same view. § Mr. Beglar, then, arguing upon the basis that Ho-lung does signify the Ganges, proceeds to state some very fair grounds for holding that the event recorded in the extract above quoted is the destruction of the city of Pâṭaliputra by the falling-in of the banks of the Ganges.¶ If this conclusion is correct, then our previous argument shows that, the Mudrârâkshasa must have been composed about the first half

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* See Wilson's Hindu Theatre, Vol. II., p. 136; and compare Beal's Fa-Hian, p. 103, and note there; J. B. B. R, A. S., Vol. III, Part II., p. 153; J. R. A. S., Vol. XVII, p, 126. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. VI., p, 131. At p. 50 of the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI., may be seen a strange superstition regarding Pâṭaliputra. †See Elphinstone's History of India, by Cowell, p. 292; and Cf. the authorities referred to in the last preceding note. ‡See Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. VI., p. 71 § Cunningham's Arch 'Surv. Report, Vol. VIII, p. 12; see also Vol. XI, p. 156. ¶ Lassen (see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol: II., p. 196) says "the ancient capital, Pâṭaliputra, had long ceased to exist at the time to which, I think, the reign of Kalkin must be referred," that is to say, according to him, 1522 A. D. I do not know exactly what this alludes to. But it looks as if the meaning merely was that Pâṭaliputra had ceased to be occupied as the seat of royalty long before 1522. If so, the passage can have no bearing on the question discussed in the text.

of the eighth century of the Christian era. I am bound, however, to point out, that besides the doubtful character of the evidence we have here set out, we must recollect that in the recent republication of the account of Ma-Twan-Lin, the passage above adduced is very differently rendered. Instead of what is quoted above, we read there as follows:—"Towards the end of the *Khien-yuen* period (668), China having lost the country of Ho-long, the kings of India ceased from that time to come to court."* These two renderings are entirely different from one another, and it is impossible for us to decide between them. We must, therefore, leave the question to be determined by those who are conversant with the subject. It is enough for us here to add, that while on the one hand the modern Pâtna does not date back to any period further removed from us than the time of Shir Shah, who indeed, appears to have founded the modern fortress and town, † we have no mention of Pâṭaliputra in any work of ascertained date subsequent to the time of Hiouen-Tsang. ‡ And it would be remarkable, that Ma-Twan-Lin's own account should contain nothing about a city which is referred to both by Fa-Hian and by Hiouen-Tsang.

For obvious reasons, it is not possible for me to go into the various geographical discussions regarding the change of the course of the S'ona and the actual site of Pâṭaliputra, which have been going on from the time of Major Rennell to our own day. Nor is it necessary for our present purpose that I should do so. Suffice it to say, that in all these discussions, as we have indicated above, the date of the Mudrârâkshasa instead of being treated as a point for investigation, has been assumed, in accordance with the opinion of Professor Wilson, to fall in about the eleventh century of the Christian era.§ There is however nothing, as far as I am able to judge, in the points made in that discussion, either to render such an assumption necessary, or even to indicate that it is a legitimate one. The date of the play may be placed even five or six centuries earlier than the point at which professor Wilson placed it, without in any way running counter to any fact, established in the discus-

* See *Indian Antiquary*. Vol. XI., p. 19, and Cf. Yule's Cathay, Vol I., p. lxxxi. † See Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. VIII., p. 14. ‡ But see as to this and generally the note on this point in our note on 'the date of S'ankarâchârya' in the *Indian Antiquary*. § See p. 14 *supra*.

sion under reference. And, therefore, it is unnecessary to labour the point any further for our present purposes. I need only remark, that while General Cunningham places the site of Pâṭaliputra between the ancient beds of the river Ganges and the S'oṇa,* the passages above referred to as probably indicating that the city must have been situated to the south of the S'oṇa †militate against his view. If the indications furnished by our play are to be accepted, the city must have been situated near the confluence of the two rivers, and—not between them, but along the southern banks of both rivers.

It will have been perceived, that the considerations which have been so far dwelt upon, point to the seventh or eighth century A.D. as the probable date of our drama. One other circumstance looking the same way may now be adverted to. In the seventh Act we have a remarkable stanza, in which the conduct of Chandanadâsa, in sacrificing his life for his friend Râkhasa, is stated to have transcended the nobility even of the Buddhas.‡ It seems to me that that allusion to Buddhism belongs to a period long prior to the decay and ultimate disappearance of Buddhism from India.§ Of the other works, which, as stated in our note on this passage, contain similar references to Buddhism, the Nâgânanda|| may probably be taken to belong to about the middle of the seventh century A. D., and the Mâlatîmâdhava to the end of that century. The Kâdambarî, in which passages leading to a similar conclusion also occur, likewise belongs to the same period.¶ Now, in Fa-Hian's time—that is to say, about the beginning of the fifth century

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* Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. VIII., p. 6. † See pp. 211 and 214. I take the passage at p. 211 to signify that the army of Malayaketu had to cross the S'oṇa before reaching Pâṭaliputra, while the passage at p. 214 shows that that army had to go from north to south. At the same time, it is possible, that the meaning of the former passage may be simply, that the elephants of Malayaketu are to enjoy themselves in the S'oṇa, after Malayaketu shall have obtained possession of the city. This is possible, but I do not think it is the true meaning of the passage. ‡ P. 304 *infra.* § Cf. on this Wilson's Hindu Theatre, Vol. II., 4; Elphinstone's History of India, by Cowell, p. 296 note; also S. P. Paṇḍit's Mâlavikâgnimitra, Preface, p. 35 *et. seq.* || I am aware that in the Introduction to Mr. Palmer Boyd's translation of this play, it is assinged to about the 12th century. But it seems to be by the same author as the Ratnâvalî, and the assertion in the text is based on that assumption. ¶ See p. 209; and Cf. further Harshacharita, pp. 211-2; and also Mâgha, Canto XX., st. 81; Bṛihatsaṃhitâ, ch. LX., st. 19; and Elphinstone's India, by Cowell, p. 298.

A. D.—according to Mr. Beal, "Buddhism in India had arrived at a stage of development that foreshadowed its approaching decline and overthrow."* In the time of Hiouen-Tsang—that is to say, between 629-645—it was, however, still far from being decayed, though it "appears to have fallen very far below the point at which it stood in Fa-Hian's time; to have been equal in power with Brahminism only where it was supported by powerful kings, and to have been generally accepted as the one religion of the country only in Kâs'mîr and the Upper Punjab,in the Magadha and in Guzarât."† In this condition of things, it was still quite possible, that one who was not himself a Buddhist—and Vis'âkhadatta plainly was not one—should refer to Buddhism in the complimentary terms we find in the passage under disscussion. But such a reference is not likely to have been made at any time very far removed from the period of which we are now speaking.‡ For in the eighth and ninth centuries "Buddhism had become so corrupt, that it no longer attracted the people, and when it lost the favour of kings, it had no power to stand against the opposition of the priests."§ From these facts alone we may, I think, safely conclude that a work which refers to Buddhism in the way ours does probably dates from a time prior to the ninth century A. D. Some support to this conclusion might be drawn from the circumstance, which is alluded to on this point by the same authority as that from which

* Introduction, p. lxi., and cf. pp. 107-147. † See Rhys Davids' Manual of Buddhism, p. 245; and Barth's Religions of India, p. 132. On the vicissitudes of the fortunes of Buddhism in India, see also *inter alia* Beal's Fa-Hian, p. 53; J. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. III., p. 165; Burgess's Arch. Surv. Report Vol. II., p. 10; Vol. IV. p. 60; Vol. V., pp. 16, 22; Burnell's South Indian Paleography, p. 114 note; Fergusson's Indian Architecture, pp. 21-25; and Barth's Indian Religions, p. 134. ‡ The argument here is not at all inconsistent with the view expressed by me at *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX., p. 46; a view to which I still adhere, and which, I find, has been expressed by other scholars also, cf. *inter alia* Barth's Religions of India, p. 133; Max Müller's India: What it can teach us, pp. 280-307; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII., pp. 2 and 198; see, too, Burnell's South-Indian Paleography, pp. 104, 111; Fergusson's Indian Archetecture, p. 23; Journ. Bomb. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XII., p. 315. There is, however, an obvious difference between *mere tolerance* by a king—which *may* have been due, to some extent, to motives of policy—or even support in common with other systems and a *positive compliment* by an ordinary author. And the gist of the argument in the text lies in this difference. § Davids' Buddhism, p. 246—a passage which shows that the expressions used by Mr. Paṇḍit at the place referred to in a previous note are too strong for the actual facts of the case. Cf. also Cunnigham's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. VII., p. 198; *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XI., p. 116; Barth's Religions of India, p. 132.

we have made the last two extracts quoted above,* namely, Mr. Rhys Davids' Manual of Buddhism. That circumstance is the alleged persecution of the Buddhists under the instigation of Kumârila Bhaṭṭa and S'ankarâchârya.† But this still requires corroboration, and it opens up a question which is too wide to be fully discussed on the present occasion.

Looking back at the various lines of investigation which have now been pointed out it seems to me that they all run pretty closely towards the conclusion that our drama belongs to somewhere about the early part of the eighth century A. D. I am not aware of any thing in the evidence, external or internal, bearing upon this subject, with which that conclusion stands in conflict. And this being so, I think, we may accept that conclusion, always remembering, of course, that the reasons by which it is supported are not such as to silence all possible suspicion.

One interesting question relating to our drama arises upon the stanza प्रारभ्यते, &c, which occurs at P. 135 *infra*, and which is also to be found in the Nîtis'ataka of Bhartṛihari.‡ The next stanaza after that, beginning with किं शेषस्य, is also to be found in some copies of Bhartṛihari's S'atakas.§ As, however, the genuineness of this latter as forming a part of Bhartṛihari's work may be fairly doubted,|| it is not necessary to discuss the question except as it is raised by the first stanza. Now, in the first place, it is remarkable that that stanza is quoted in the Das'arûpâvaloka nominally as from the Bhartṛiharis'ataka, but in reality in the form which is plainly more appropriate to its context in the Mudrârâkshasa.¶ In the Bhartṛiharis'ataka the words त्वमिव in the last line must be impossible to understand. In the Mudrârâkshasa they are perfectly intelligible, and actually occur in four of our MSS.

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* See p. 284. † I must state, however, notwithstanding what is said, for instance, by Mr. Beal (Fa-Hian, 137) or by M. Barth (p. 135-6), that I have myself no faith in the traditions about these persecutions. As to S'ankarâchârya's supposed share in them, I expressed this opinion as far back as 1876, see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V., p. 290. And as we learn from that great philosopher's work that, in his time, there was no universal sovereign, no Sârvabhaumrâjâ in India (see Bhâshya on Vedânt Sûtras, Bibl, Ind. ed., p. 314), it becomes certainly still more doubtful than it is on the other evidence, whether any such persecution as is alleged ever took place. Cf. on this point Barth's Religions of India, pp. 184-6 ‡ See our Bhartṛihari, p. 7 (Nîtis'ataka). § Ibid, p. 31 (Nîtis'ataka). || See Preface to Bhartṛihari, p. xx. ¶ See p. 62.

The probability seems to be, that the author of the Das'arûpâvaloka quoted the stanza from memory,* and in doing so, quoted the reading of his copy of the Mudrârâkshasa, wrongly attributing it to the Bhartriharis'ataka. Upon the question which arises with reference to these identical stanzas occurring in different and independent works, I have nothing to add to the remarks which I have elsewhere made, and which are already in print.† In the particular case which we have here to deal with, I can see no alternative other than the theory of plagiarism on the one hand, and what may be called the Subhâshita theory on the other. The former is not a probable one, especially in such a case as this.‡ The latter, therefore, is the only one that we can adopt.

The names of the various peoples mentioned in the Mudrârâkshasa deserve a few words in this Introduction. Those names are as follows:—S'aka, Yavana, Kirâta, Kâmboja, Pârasîka, Bâhlîka, (which all occur in the second Act), Khas'a, Magadha, Gândhâra, Chîna, Hûṇa, Kaulûta, (which occur in the fifth Act), and Mlechchha on which some remarks have already been made.§ It is unnecessary, in this place, to go into any elaborate examination of all that has been said with respect to these various names. I will indicate only in a general way what these names are commonly understood to signify, and give references in the notes to the principal sources of information. The S'akas appear to have been a tribe inhabiting the countries on the north-west frontier of India—"between the Indus and the sea." They are spoken of by the classical writers under the name Sacœ, and have been thought

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* Cf. on the observations in West and Bühler's Digest of Hindu Law, p. 528 (2nd ed.); Mr. Mandlik (Hindu Law, pp. 368, 389.) disputes the suggestion there made about Mitra Mis'ra quoting from memory as being without "authority." The suggestion seems to me, however, to be a very probable one as a general observation. Cf. J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., 370; and Eggeling's Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, pp. 33, 182, where the quotation from the Kirâta and the Veṇîsamhâra were probably made from memory. † See our Bhartrihari Preface, p. 21, and the Tractate on the Râmâyaṇa there referred to. ‡ See Hall's Vâsavadattâ, Preface, p. 15. § See also as to Mlechchhas, J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol., VI p. 114, and extra number for 1877, p. lxxxii; Max Müller, India; What it can teach us, pp. 282 299; Cunnigham's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. II., p. 70; Burgess's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. II., p. 26; Brihatsamhitâ, Chap. XVI., st. 35, (where they are described as dwellers in caves, &c.). Professor Kern renders the word by "barbarians," at J. R. A. S., (N. S.), Vol. V., p. 235.

generally to be identical with Scythians.* They give their name to the royal dynasty from which the Marâṭhî word S'aka, meaning era, is derived. This particular signification of the word is based upon an error,† but the era current in this part of the country, and known as the S'aka era, which commences with 78 A. D., is so called from the "S'aka kings."‡ The Yavanas have not been very satisfactorily identified. The questions which arise regarding the various references to them were elaborately discussed by Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra some years ago§. The name seems to have been applied at various times, to various tribes. Professor Wilson thinks that the Yavanas of Malayaketu's army may have been Greeks. The Yavanas, however, are also mentioned in the Mudrârâkshasa,¶ as having formed part of the invading army which followed Chandragupta and Châṇakya to Pâṭaliputra. But I do not find, that in the classical accounts of the invasion which are collected by Professor Wilson,|| any mention is made of Greek soldiers. Yet such mention might fairly be expected, if the Yavanas of the Mudrârâkshasa were really identical with the Greeks. The Yavanas referred to in our play were probably some of the frontier tribes inhabiting Afghanisthan and neighbouring districts. The

* See *inter alia* Prinsep's Essays, by Thomas, Vol. I., p.125; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV., pp. 166, 167, 244; Vol. VI., p. 337; J. R. A. S., (N. S.), Vol. V., p. 59; Burgess's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. II., p. 26; Vol. III., p. 55; Vol. IV., pp. 97, 101, 104, 114; J. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 247. † See J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., p. xliii. ; Mr. Fergusson (S'aka and other eras, p. 9; Indian Architecture, p. 27), thinks that Kanishka founded this era, other scholars have attributed the foundation to Nahapâna; see Professor Bhâṇdârkar's paper in the Transaction of the Orientalist's Congress in London. p. 318. The legend about S'âlivâhana, however, prevails in the Punjab, see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XI., p. 289, and also, apparently in Java; Fergusson's Indian Architecture, p. 640. ‡ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III., p. 305; see also J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 281; Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Reports, Vol. XII., p. 130; Fergusson's S'aka and other eras, pp. 7, 10; Bṛihatsamhitâ, Chap. VIII., st. 20-21; Max Müller, India: What it can teach us, pp. 282, 292, 297, 301. § See J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIII., and contra *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV., pp. 170, 244; see also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V., p. 275; Vol. X., p. 197, (where it seems to be stated that a people dwelling near Siam are called by this name in Hiouen-Tsang), Vol. VI. p. 114; and J. R. A. S. (N. S.) Vol. IV., p. 442; Burgess's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. IV., pp. 34-38, 90-5, 114; Fergusson's Indian Architecture, p. 142, note. ¶ P. 124 *infra*. || Hindu Theatre, Vol. II., p. 147. Chandragupta, indeed, appears to have been hostile to the Greeks, see J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. III., pp. 153-154; Vol. XV., pp. 274-5; see, too, Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, p. 87 and authorities there cited.

Kirâtas are another of these savage tribes, which are stated by Mr. A. Barooah to have been inhabitants of the hilly tracts just below the Himâlaya, near Kumaon and Nepâl. In the great duel which forms the subject of the Kirâtârjunîya, and which took place, be it remembered, on the heights of the Himâlaya, Arjuna's opponent was a Kirâta from whom the great epic takes its name.* The Kâmbojas† and the Pârasîkas are both mentioned under those names in Kâlidâsa's Raghuvams'a as tribes inhabiting the outlying districts on the north-western frontier. The Pârasîkas are doubtless the people inhabiting Persia and the adjoining regions. Horses from their country are also mentioned under the name Vanâyudes'ya in the Raghuvams'a.‡ The Bâhlîkas are easily indentified as the dwellers in the district of Bactria or Balkh,§ where a Buddist Vihâra has been discovered.¶ So much for the invading army of Chandragupta, which in the classical accounts is described as containing vagabonds,|| and robbers, and banditti. This, doubtless, may be an exaggeration, as Professor Wilson was inclined to suppose. But it seems probable from the *habitat* of the peoples mentioned, if we have correctly fixed it, that they were outlying uncivilized peoples, whom Chandragupta and Chânakya formed into an army for the purpose of helping in their work of revenge.

The elements stated to constitute the army which followed Malayaketu and Râkshasa are of the same description. The Khas'as appear to be identical with the tribes still dwelling in the Khas'ia$ and Garo Hills in the north-eastern parts of Bengal. The real name of the tribe seems to be Khas'a and so our text

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* See further *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III., pp. 178-9; Vol. VI., pp. 133, 349 n; Vol. X., p. 321. † See Raghuvams'a, Canto IV., st. 60-69. For the Kâmbojas, see also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV., p. 244; Vol. V., p. 275; Vol. X., p. 272; they and Yavanas are decribed as मुण्ड in the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, p. 157, (Eggeling's ed.). ‡ Raghuvams'a, Canto V. st. 73. See further on this and other names Vâsavadattâ, Hall's Preface, p. 82; Aufrecht's Halâyudha, p. 47. § See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI., p. 114. ¶ J. R. A. S., (N. S.), Vol. IX., p. 169 and Vol. XVII., (O. S.,) p. 112. || Hindu Theatre, Vol. II, pp. 133, 149. An explanation of this statement in the classical writers is suggested by General Cunningham in his Bhilsa Topes, p. 89. $ Barooah's Dictionary, Vol. III., p. 44; see, too, Bhilsa Topes, p. 94; and Bṛihatsamhitâ, Chap. LXIX., st. 26; and J. A. S. B., Vol. XVI., p. 1237, (Mr. Brian Hodgson's paper.).

ought to have read it, following the MSS. A. and P.* The next name is Magadha. If our text is on this point correct, and all our MSS. read the name as Magadha, the reference is probably to the discontented inhabitants of Magadha, who still followed Râkshasa, repudiating all connexion with Chandragupta as a usurper. I own, however, that I have a suspicion, though it is nothing more, that Magadha is not the correct reading, but that it should be Magara. If our identification of the Khas'as is right, this rectification is strongly suggested by the fact that the Magara tribe inhabits the Himâlayan tracts near Kumaon in the neighbourhood of the Khas'as.† According to Mr. Carleylle, the Goorkhas of Nepâl originally belonged to the twin tribes, Magaras and Khas'as. It must be admitted, however, that the emendation here is a mere suggestion, which cannot be accepted at present in the face of the evidence of our MSS. of the Mudrârâkshasa. I may add, that the language of the Magaras has formed the subject of an essay by Mr. Beams in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.‡ The Gândhâras who come next are undoubtedly the people settled about the modern Peshâwar.§ That part of the country is referred to in the Chhândogya Upanishad,¶ and it is well known that many Buddhistical remains of ancient days have been found at Ali Masjid and other places on the borders of Afghanisthan.|| The Chînas are the next people who claim attention. Mr. Barooah identifies with the Chinese the Chînas mentioned in the Mahâbhârata. The Chînas of our text are probably not to be distinguished from the Chinas mentioned in the great epic. But Professor Max Müller

* See further as to the Khas'as, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X., p. 386; and J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. III., p. 156; and as to some of their customs, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII., pp. 164, 205. † Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. XII., pp. 126-30; Vol. III., p. 116; see also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI., p. 337; and cf. Fergusson's Indian Architecture, p. 301. ‡ Journ. R. A. S., (N. S.), Vol. IV. § See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I., p. 22; Cunningham's Geography, pp. 15, 47, *et seq*; Elliott's Bibliographical Index, Part I., p. 30; J. R. A. S. Vol. XVII., pp. 114-5. ¶ See p. 459 (Bibl. Ind. ed.); see also Max Müller's India: What it can teach us, p. 360; Beal's Fa-Hian, p. 30. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I., p. 21; Fergusson's Indian Architecture, pp. 59. 72. || See *inter alia* Fergusson's Indian Architecture, p. 169, *et seq.; Indian Antiquary* Vol. VIII., p. 227; J. R. A. S., (N. S.), Vol. XIII., p. 183; Vol. XIV. p. 319. One of the famous edicts of As'oka is in those parts, which formed, according to those edicts themselves, the western limit of As'oka's kingdom; see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI., p. 275; cf. also Elliott's Index, part I., p. 102.

doubts whether in the Mahâbhârata the name Chînas really does stand for the Chinese.* However whether they are to be identified with the Chinese or not, they would seem to belong to some where about the north-eastern quarter of India, whether on this side of the Himâlaya mountain or the further side. The Hûṇas come next and these are probably to be identified with the White Huns,† whose inroads into India are said to have occurred in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. They are mentioned in Kâlidâsa, and an expedition against them is stated in the Harshacharita‡ to have been entrusted to Râjyavardhana, the elder brother of Harshavardhana, by his father who is himself also described as हूणहरिणकेसरी.

Kaulûta appears in our play as the description of one of the confederates of Malayaketu. Professor Wilson says that the part of the country called Kulûta is not known. Since his time, however, some evidence on the subject has become accessible. Kulûta is alluded to in the Kâdambarî,§ and in Varâhamihira,¶ and is mentioned by Hiouen-Tsang, appearently, as lying on the way from Jalandar to Mathurâ and Thânes'var.|| The modern name of the district is, according to Mr. Barooah, Kulu., $ and its precise position is indicated in the map which forms the frontispiece to General Cunnigham's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I. Malaya, if our reading here is correct, is the only southern locality alluded to in our play. It is near the southernmost extremity of the Western Ghâts.** Kâs'mîr is the province which still goes under the same name and Saindhava, doubtless, means belonging

* Barooah's Dictionary, Vol. III., p. 114; see, too, Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 243; Yule's Cathay, Vol. I., p. xxxiv.; and Kern's Bṛihatsamhitâ in J. R. A. S., (N. S.), Vol. V. p. 73 (st. 61); and contra Max Müller, India: What it can teach us, p. 13; चीनांशुक is mentioned *inter alia* by Kâlidâsa and Daṇḍî.

† See as to the Hûṇas, Raghuvams'a, IV., 68; J.R.A.S., Vol. II, p. 283; Vol. V., (N. S.), p. 73; Cunningham's Geography of Ancient India, p. 7; Fergusson's S'aka and other Eras, p. 21; and Indian Architecture, pp. 39, 726, and note at p. xx. *supra*. As to their early history, see J. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol X., p. 285.

‡ P. 116. § See p. 101. ¶ Chap. XIV., st. 29; J. R. A. S. Vol. XVII., p. 119. || Cunningham's Geography of Ancient India, pp. 142-564; and Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. XIV., p. 129; see also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI., p. 339; J. A. S. B. Vol. XVII. p. 23. $ See Dictionary, Vol. III., p. 41-56.

** See Raghuvams'a, Canto IV., st. 51; Canto V., st. 64. See, however, as to Malaya *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIV p. 105, and as to Malaya and generally *Ibid* p. 320.

to Sindh,* as Professor Wilson has pointed out. A review of all these names shows, that except the name Malaya, they one and all belong to the northern parts, and most to the northern frontier of India.

There is just one other point, touching the general character of our play, on which a few words might fairly be said in this introduction. It is plain that the sympathy of the reader is expected for Châṇakya and his party, while it is equally plain that the policy of Châṇakya is not remarkable for high morality. From the most ordinary deception and personation, up to forgery and murder, evey device is resorted to that could be of service in the achievement of the end which Châṇakya had determined for himself. On the other side, too, there is no lack of highly objectionable and immoral proceedings. It must be admitted that this indicates a very low state of public morality, and the formal works on politics which exist certainly do not disclose anything better.† With reference to the criticisms which might be, and have been, based on these facts, however, there are one or two circumstances to be taken into account. In the first place, although this is no excuse, it may be said to be an extenuation, that the questionable proceedings referred to are all taken in furtherance of what is in itself a very proper end. Châṇakya's ambition is to make his protégé, Chadragupta, firm upon his throne,‡ and to bring back Râkshasa

* See Cunningham's Geography, p. 6; with regard to most of the names discussed, the following may also be consulted; As'oka's Edicts, Bṛihatsamhitâ, Chaps. 9 to 11, 14, 16 to 18, and 32; Manu, Chap. X., st. 44; Cunningham's Ancient Geography, Harshacharita, P. 43; Patanjali's Mahâbhâshya, IV., I. 4, pp. 60-5, (Banâras Ed.), Wilson's Vishṇu Purâṇa, cited in our Anugîtâ, p. 222; Kathâsaritsâgara, Taranga 19, and Muir's Sanskṛit Texts, Vol. I., p. 480, *et seq.*

† Châṇakya is one of our great authorities on all matters of politics. Cf. *inter alia* Kâmandakî's Nîtisâra (Bibl. Ind. Ed.), p. I, and preface of Dr. R. Mitra, p. 3; Das'akumâracharita, p. 145, (Calc. Ed.), p. 13 (Bombay Sanskrit Series), Panchatantra, Introductory Verses, and Kâdambarî, p.109; Chaṇḍakaus'ika, p.3; see further J. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. IX., p. 177; J. A. S. B. Vol. XXXIV., p. 23, (where he is represented as tampering with the currency of his time), and Vol. LII., Part I., p. 267. (*Sed quære* as to some of the things there said.) ‡ In the paper of Mr. Thomas at J. A. S. B. Vol. XXXIV., p. 68, there is a suggestion (and the same suggestion had been made before by General Cunningham) that the Nandas were Buddhists, and Châṇakya was the prime mover in a Brahmanical movement for the expulsion of the Buddhist sovereigns. There is, how-

to the service of the king whe properly represented those old masters of his to whom Râkshasa's loyalty still remained quite firm. If the end could ever be regarded as justifying the means, it might be so regarded in this case. And, secondly, it must not be forgotten, that the games of diplomacy and politics have always been games of more or less doubtful morality. When we hear of one great politician of modern days declaring another to be a great statesman, because, as I believe he expressed it, the latter lied so cleverly, we cannot say that the world has risen to any very perceptibly higher moral plane in the times of Metternich and Napoleon, than in those of Châṇakya and Râkṣhasa. Nor are suppression of important passages in despatches for the purposes of publication, or wars undertaken on unjustifiable and really selfish pretexts, calculated to convince one, that even in Europe in the nineteenth century the transaction of political affairs has been purged of the taint of immorality, however different, and I may even add, comparatively innocent, may be the outward manifestations of that taint.

A few words only need to be added regarding the commentary published in this volume. The author of it is Ḍhuṇḍhirâja, son of Lakshmaṇa, of the family of Vyâsa. The exordium and the conclusion of his commentary save one the necessity of any toilsome inquiry as to his age. He says that his commentary was written in the year 1635, at the request of one Tryambakâdhvarî, who was patronised by the Bhonsle Râjâ of Cholamaṇḍala and surrounding districts, named S'arabhajî, the brother of S'âhajî. The copy of the commentary used by us explains 1635 to be 1635 of the S'âlivâhana era. And we are enabled to remove all doubt on that point by the statement, that it was in the time of S'arabhajî Bhonsle that the commentary was written. For this S'arabhajî the brother of S'âhajî, is doubtless identical with the Sarfojî, the brother of S'âhajî, whom we see mentioned in the geneological tree of the Marâṭhâ dynasty of Tanjore, given by Mr. Sewell in his Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India. Sarfojî is there

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ever, no indication of this view in our play, and it stands in need of further corroboration as a historical theory. The indication which General Cunningham had suggested (J. A. S. B. Vol. X., P. 156), is based on a mistake, which has been pointed out at P. 27 *Supra*.

Sâhitya Darpaṇa, Calcutta, 1869.
Sâhitya Parichaya, by Nîlamaṇi Mukarji. Calcutta, 1880-83.
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The abbreviations used in this Volume will be easily understood from the full names here given.

An Alphabetical Index of the Verses occurring in the Mudrârâkshasa.

*** *In the following Index, the first number refers to the Act and the second, to the Verse.*

